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Understanding and Helping Unmarried Parents

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IN 1941 I wrote a paper on unmarried mothers in relation to adoption at the request of the Child Welfare League of America.* This very brief paper only stated the problems and the agency commitment; it gave no real answers. That one should be able to go only that far after four years of almost constant thought and work in this one area points at least for me to the real depth and difficulties inherent in the problem. This opportunity to again commit my experience and thinking to paper is both welcomed and resisted. It takes me back to that earlier effort and to a very searching examination of the thinking and practice of my agency and other agencies with which I have been associated. For myself, I must begin with my own formulation of four years ago. I hope that this will also be helpful to you.

At that time I wrote:

The unmarried mother faced with the necessity of making some decision about the child she has brought into the world presents a complex need for help. She must sustain not only her problem, but the emotions of her family—their shame, their rejections, their desire to punish or, at best, their grief and concern—as well as the traditional moral attitudes of the community and the legal, economic, and social restrictions inherent in her situation. There are those who would have her keep her baby, there are those who would have her give him up, but seldom are there any who are free enough of their own conflict to help her to come to a decision that represents her real feeling and her capacity to operate within the practical limitations of her world. To provide such a situation, to help the mother of the illegitimate child to free herself as much as she can from the projections and pressures of others, to set up a case work procedure and process through which she can find her own way out, her own answer to her dilemma, is a serious responsibility of the adoption agency.

Most of my experience with unmarried parents has been with mothers who have approached the adoption agency with which I am connected. This is without question a selected group. They have not all chosen adoption however. Some have boarded their children with the agency for a limited period of time; many have not needed placement for their children at all. But they are all at least considering adoption, or why should they have come? While the group I have known is selective and special in this respect, I do not believe their difference from the whole is great enough to invalidate any conclusions one may reach on the problem in general. I have read records of other child-placing agencies and of family agencies, joined in their conferences, read the literature, and found that it is not unimportant or immaterial that the client has chosen that particular

agency function as the focus of her effort to find relief. The problem and end results bear a similar stamp. So I hope that you will not be distrustful or alienated by the fact that I write from experience of the adoption agency. A good adoption service has as its chief purpose, after all, to help the client find whether adoption is the solution to *his* needs, not to fit him to the adoption pattern. The adoption agency also probably sees more unmarried parents than any other agency.

Problems of the Unmarried Parent

Before going into any detail as to the help social agencies can offer on the problems of unmarried

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* Adoption Practice, Child Welfare League of America, 1941, page 10.

parents, we should perhaps consider what these problems are and from what they come. I am inclined to question the use of the designation "unmarried parent" because it leads too often to one or two assumptions, namely, that on the one hand the person *is* in actuality a parent and so subject to the same generalized understanding as married parents, and on the other hand that being that paradox, unmarried but a parent, he is essentially different from all individuals coming to the case work agency.

I have raised the question as to whether so-called unmarried parents are parents at all. Biologically they are, though biology takes a stronger hold on the female than the male parent. If the relationship resulting in pregnancy is a casual or impulsive one, of short duration, the male parent may have little sense of its parental implications. The mother cannot, of course, escape the physical fact of her own pregnancy, however hard she may try. Parenthood, if it can be proved, is also a legal fact. A mother, married or not, cannot abandon her child without danger of being called to account for failing in her parental responsibilities. In communities where a paternity law exists, a measure of responsibility can be placed on the father *if* paternity can be proved. But for case work purposes, we are concerned chiefly with the individual's *feeling of responsibility* and his capacity to carry it, in this case his capacity to feel and assume parental concern. What then does it mean to be a parent? Marriage certainly does not make parents though the total of married parenthood may include more individuals emotionally ready for parenthood than does the total of unmarried parents.

A parent, from the point of view of the child, is one who assumes the practical and psychological functions of nurture and teaching which make it possible for a child to build a well-integrated, satisfied personality. From the parents' point of view, the child is his claim to immortality and continuity (or the unavoidable proof of his mortality), his own biological creation, an object through which he may believe he can work out his own unsatisfied desires, yet one calling on him for a very mature and special kind of responsibility which he may or may not wish or be able to meet. Psychologically, and sometimes practically, the parent is one who is willing to assume the responsibilities inherent in parenthood. Not every-one of child-bearing age can meet this test.

The question is whether the unmarried person who comes to the case work agency is really seeking help to be a parent or to avoid parenthood. Do we assume too often that the biological fact of parenthood confers also its psychological aspects? And if a person

does not wish to be a parent, to what end do we seek to lay on him or her by legal means or persuasion the blessings or burdens of that state? I think we talk too much about what the unmarried parent "should" do from too little awareness of what his problem is and how that determines what he "can" do. Nor do I think we can discover this "can" in knowing what caused the illegitimate pregnancy. The causes are exactly the same inner conflicts, inadequacies, dissatisfactions, which cause other behavior which represents the individual's conflict with himself, with those individuals most closely related to him, and with the social order. They are legion. They are the same for the married and the unmarried. In some cases the pregnancy is the cause of the problem rather than the problem the cause of the pregnancy. Some quite well adjusted young people have sexual experiences outside of marriage and pregnancy is an accident of fertility. I do not want to over-simplify the problem. I do not believe that fertility and sterility are entirely without psychological control, therefore subject in some degree to the will. Nor do I mean to say that extra-marital sexual experience in our culture is not usually indicative of some conflict or lack of adjustment in the individual. But unsought or illegitimate pregnancy and therefore parenthood, while they create great conflict and problem in most individuals are as much cause as result. The legitimate concern is not, "Why did this young person have this baby?" but, "With what problems is she dealing when she comes to us for help and what is her emotional and practical equipment for dealing with them?"

I cannot from my experience assume the problem to be in any way related to intelligence. To be sure, the dull person may be less able to inhibit impulses or to withstand persuasion. But the mothers who come to the social agencies which I know range throughout the population. Some are well educated, some successful in business or profession, some well reared in comfortable homes, some personable and charming, some lacking all of these assets. To mention briefly a few examples:

Miss Ellison was 25 years of age when she became illegitimately pregnant. She was a young woman of great promise, able, well organized, with a ready wit but quick sympathies. She grew up in a comfortable home in a large city, the elder of two sisters. Family life was gay, warm, affectionate. The father died when the girls were about to complete high school, and after good business training each secured a good job and progressed rapidly. Miss Ellison met the father of her baby in the office where she worked. He was a rising young attorney whose family's social and economic situation was secure and somewhat above Miss Ellison's. However, the gap was not extreme and she was quite well received by his family as a potential member. There was no formal engagement, however, and Miss Ellison became pregnant as a result of an impulsive episode which neither she nor the young man could understand

afterwards. She wanted marriage not only in order to keep the baby whom she loved but because she also loved the man very deeply. He, however, was alienated by the unconventionality of the pre-marital pregnancy and while he did not give her convincing evidence that he would never marry her until the baby was eight months old, he took no responsibility or initiative in continuing the relationship.

Miss Ellison worked with a social agency for more than a year and in this period it became evident that though her family life had been very happy and her job success gratifying (she was a priceless private secretary), she wanted something she had never had—someone of her own. Her need and vigor must have been frightening to the rather staid young man, at the same time that he sought these very qualities in her. Pregnancy in this instance seems a rather heavy penalty for an impulsive act, yet it is possible, too, that she might have continued to live with him unconventionally had he offered marriage. Pregnancy precipitated a crisis which may have only been longer delayed, between two individuals who needed each other but whose needs were somewhat antagonistic.

Another mother, Alice Landis, was a school teacher when she became pregnant. She also was 25 years of age and held a good job well. She was very different in personality from Miss Ellison, a very tight, resistive, controlled person as she presented herself to the agency and these qualities seemed characteristic of her relations with people before her pregnancy. She, too, described a happy family group of which, however, she was not a very free member. She had begun to take responsibility very early, apparently more from her own need to deny herself dependency and childhood than from the family situation. The family was a substantial rural one but without the personal drive which carried her through a hard-won college degree and to a teaching job. She was very small in stature and of slight build but because of her severity was put in charge of the most difficult class in school and was able to "keep order" where other, older teachers had not. Instead of living with the younger teachers, she chose to associate herself with the older ones with whom she felt more congenial. Thus hedged about with her own determination to be free of emotion or human need, she became, against her conscious will involved with a young man, who, she was quite sure, raped her. She never at any time accepted any responsibility for their relationship beyond thinking that she should "have known better" than to think that any man would behave decently.

This rigid, denying young woman certainly became pregnant through conflict between her assumed pattern of reserve and her really great need of relationship. The father of her child was known only slightly to the agency but all evidence pointed not to the aggressive male but a rather amiable, affectionate young man who needed Miss Landis' strength and was quite bound to her. This case will be discussed later.

Miss Sanders, another unmarried mother, was a 20-year-old factory worker. She had had a long-continued relation with the father of her baby who was quite reluctant to marry her and finally escaped her persistent pursuit by joining the Army. She had grown up in a respectable family in a small town. She was the elder of two children of a mother widowed when Miss Sanders was five. The death of her father is a point of reference for Miss Sanders who remembers vividly her mother's reception of the news that he had been killed in an accident. The mother was able to support the family adequately and at the same time keep a good family life. At the same time Miss Sanders felt burdened as she grew up and took on the pattern of an always good and dutiful daughter. Her behavior was serious and responsible. All this broke down when she went to work and as she said "got in with a bad crowd." Her unconventional behavior seems a direct expression of the need to lay down the burden of goodness and responsibility—to become a child. She finds herself, however, with a child to provide for and becomes, in the maternity home, again very conforming and responsible. She was quite caught with her child who represented to her both a person she could really love and possess and grave responsibility. It was only as she found a way to satisfy her dependence that she could find any solution to her problem.

Here we have three young women, different in education and family experience as in personality, who nevertheless find themselves involved in irregular

sexual relationships and pregnancy. All of them are reasonable people, have been acceptable, even pride-worthy members of their own families, have made good job adjustments. Each has an unsatisfied emotional need. In Miss Landis and Miss Sanders the need is perhaps more marked and the deprivation greater than for Miss Ellison. All have relationships of some standing with suitable young men. Yet none marries. Some reasons for this seem evident in the information given. Miss Ellison holds to marriage with a man who is afraid of her while he needs her, a man very different from herself. Miss Landis rejects her own sexuality and need and therefore marriage. Miss Sanders wants not responsibility but freedom from it. With these problems, these qualities of personality, all three mothers approached an adoption agency focusing their problems on the decision to place or not place their children.

Case-Work Help of the Child-Placing Agency

In discussing case-work help of the unmarried parent, I shall hold myself to the help offered by the child-placing agency. I must do this because it is the limit of my experience. What I will say I believe will be equally applicable to any other agency should the client choose that function as the one most fitting his need. The unmarried parent comes to the child-placing agency, as does any other parent, because he believes or tries to believe that placement is the practical help which will lead to a solution to his dilemma. He does not come to be treated for his unmarried parenthood nor on the other hand to be manipulated for the good of his child. He comes because he tries to meet his discomfort and pain in his present very real dilemma; some force within him impels him to seek this particular help. It may be the right answer for him or it may not but in the process of discovering this, if he truly works at it and if the case worker truly understands the help her agency can offer, the use people can make of it, and has a psychological understanding of behavior, he will receive help.

To be sure, some clients do not come impelled by personal conviction. Some come because they have been sent or because others come. Epidemics of application for adoption spread through maternity homes more rapidly than the measles. Social workers or parents may put pressure on the unmarried girl to present herself to the agency. But if the client actually presents himself to the agency, however unwillingly, however in protest against his own impulse to come or the demand of others, his job and that of the case worker remains the same: to discover as he explores and experiences placement, step by step, now

resisting, now moving surely ahead, whether this really helps him, whether he can invest as much as is needed, whether he is after all doing what is sound or unsound for himself.

And if he discovers this in placing or deciding not to place his child, what has he done for himself as a person in trouble? I think we can take responsibility for that beyond the use the parent makes of us in placing his child and the understanding and realistic help we can give him in the area in which he has asked for help. But no parent who deals responsibly and with full investment of his own feeling in placing a child can fail to find some reorganization within himself as a result. Whether it provides enough reorganization and healing of his hurt that he can go on into more satisfying and less damaging experiences than he has had in the past can be answered only individually. I believe that this result is implicit in the process of taking help in whatever area of one's life one has chosen to risk change.

What help does the placing agency then offer the parent in the structure of placement? First, only the parent can decide whether he will accept placement for his child and the agency recognizes this right and necessity. In so doing it establishes the parent's dignity and responsibility. It seems helpful to distinguish between the protective agency and the placement agency. Certainly agencies, when empowered to do so by law, may act to protect a child from his parent and to some parents such action is even helpful and constructive. But most placing agencies receive the child on the parent's decision to place. Not only does the agency believe actively in the parent's right to decide but in the necessity that he make a real decision, one which he can back in feeling and action. To make such a decision whether for placement or in any other area of life is an organizing, integrating act, usually fraught with both struggle and triumph.

This decision is not made all at once, in one place. The act of getting to the agency, of making an appointment, of keeping that appointment, are all significant parts. We all know the struggle that may be injected here, the efforts to get someone else to do it, the hesitation about the hour or place, or, on the other hand, the clear-cut action which sometimes occurs. The interview to find out what placement is like, to learn what is expected of one, the meeting of the requirements of placement such as giving information, having physical examinations, participation in feeling, the wait for a boarding home, all play their part for the client in finding how he stands in relation to the placement of his child and almost inevitably

how he stands in relation to himself. The case worker, who understands the implications of the process, helps the client use all these elements in relation to his basic purpose and need.

Two cases will show this use of placement by the parent and the help given by the case worker: one, an application for adoption from a man on behalf of a child who is symbolically though quite possibly not biologically his own, the other the case of a mother who used boarding care for her child to get her own bearings.

Mr. Adams, an Army private 24 years of age, was referred by his Chaplain for the placement of his wife's illegitimate and as yet unborn child. He stated at first that he was engaged to his wife before he went overseas, that she became pregnant as a result of an attack by a man unknown to her, in his absence. He married her upon his return to protect her and the baby. There were two interviews with Mr. Adams, followed by two interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Adams which led to the acceptance of the baby for adoption placement. The first interview begins as follows:

I saw Private Adams alone in the Chaplain's office. As soon as he entered he rushed over to the telephone saying that he needed to make a call outside the Camp and couldn't do it on the regular telephone. I asked Pvt. Adams if that could wait, that I was limited in time here this afternoon. Reluctantly he agreed and practically threw himself into a chair by the desk, sat slumped over smoking rapidly on a freshly lighted cigar. As if memorized, he told me rapidly that his wife was just a kid, was only 18 in May, so he felt so sorry for her that he married her in April. However, he didn't want the child. He wanted "to get rid of it" as quickly as possible. Neither he nor his wife wanted to see the baby in the hospital so I must take it immediately. "I know a good looking, charming woman like you will help a poor soldier." Then in the next breath he said that he himself was adopted when he was 7 years old. The only parents he had ever known had been his foster parents and he thinks that he was lucky. They had plenty of money and gave him everything he wanted and he guesses any kid would be lucky to have that. I responded gently that it is not like having your own parents though. For a minute he seemed to drop the aggressiveness and I saw a flicker of recognition as he nodded.

In this beginning Mr. Adams shows himself as impulsive, insecure, needful, and certainly deeply confused. He uses his masculinity aggressively and is quite scattered in his talk. However two things seem accomplished in this first interview, which continued on a somewhat practical basis for some time, namely that Mr. Adams began to find what was new in applying to a case-work agency and to define the part of himself which was becoming accessible to change. He cannot separate himself from this baby who is, like himself, to be adopted. He makes an aggressively masculine approach to the worker, boasts of his conquests over women, offers to include her. When he begins to see her as different, that is, refusing him on this basis but holding out another area of relation-

ship he tells how much he has been able to put over on the Chaplain who is a "softy." The worker suggested that if they are to work together it would need to be on a different basis and they part with a very real expression of responsibility on Mr. Adams' part.

Six weeks later, Mr. Adams wrote that the baby was born three weeks before and was being cared for in a foster home until the agency could take her. He asked for an appointment though his wife was still away with her parents. This interview too took place at camp. Mr. Adams had forgotten to arrange for the worker to be admitted so that she was held up until he could be located.

Pvt. Adams arrived freshly attired in summer uniform. It was an extremely warm day and he immediately took himself over to the electric fan and paced back and forth. Apologetically, he said that he was sorry to be late and not to have arranged for a pass at the Provost Marshal Office, but the appointment just slipped his mind. He then mentioned the letter that he had written me wondering what I thought of it. I asked him why he asked this and his response was that he had not known what kind of a letter to write me, for mine had been so businesslike. He had decided since I had written him a business letter and not a personal one that his should be business too. I had responded that I know this was a difficult area for him and perhaps puzzling. I am most interested in seeing him work out something that is satisfactory for himself and the baby and that does seem to me to be our business together. Pvt. Adams seemed more serious following this. I said that I expect it is hard for him to see me here and I expect it is not easy to share with someone else and to ask them to help you with such a problem as this. With this he seats himself in a chair by the desk, seems to become more relaxed and looks quite dejected. Soberly, he responded that it is all on his shoulders now, that he has been left as usual "holding the bag." I am interested and wait for him to continue. He said that he has not seen the baby and neither has his wife. She had had quite a time at delivery and as soon as she was out of the hospital had been taken home by her mother. "The two women are not a bit interested in what happens to the baby, but I am in my baby."

His face became distorted and he was on the verge of tears as he told me that it is simply awful when a baby is not wanted by its parents. "It just looks like your past catches up with you and repeats itself." I ask if he means he was not wanted either. He said that it is something like that and there was deep feeling in his words as he continued. He was about fourteen years of age when he learned from his adopted parents that he was not their own child. They had told him what they knew about his mother which was very little. About his father he knows nothing because they were not married. Of course he knows that she did not want him and neither did his father. "I am just a plain bastard, but my baby won't be. She is legitimate." I see that it seems to him cruel and heartless for a mother to place her baby for adoption, that the baby is being marked for life as illegitimate and unwanted. Explosively he says that is exactly what he thinks. I say there is another side of it though. I think that parents are hurt and that they suffer, too, but maybe in a different way from a child. Some mothers and some fathers act quite responsibly in placing their babies and coming to an agency that can place their babies with families that will love them and want them from the depths of their hearts. Maybe this is impossible for him to see though. Quietly he responds that it is not, for he knows that more than anything else in the world he wants to see that his baby is well placed and will be happy.

The interview continued with a quite open discussion of the relation between his own problem of being a placed child and his act in getting his wife's unwanted child placed. The impact of this interview he confirms in the next interview two weeks later.

Mr. and Mrs. Adams came together. Mrs. Adams was seen alone first since this was her first interview and since the worker got no sense of these people being, in truth, together. I will not go into this interview since we are concerned with Mr. Adams' use of placement except to say that Mrs. Adams' need was wholly to be rid of the baby.

When Mr. Adams was invited in, he seated himself, drawing the chair beyond his wife's and nearer to the desk. He looked at me curiously and commented that that was quite an interview we had last time. I smiled and nodded, waiting for him to continue. He responded that it surely did give him a lot to think about. I smiled and asked like what? He said it is all of this business about being not wanted. It rather gives him a different slant on what he is doing and about himself.

Mr. Adams now becomes more clearly the parent placing a child, wondering how the adoption family would feel about *him* and needing to see himself in relation to this. In the next three weeks he very competently handled the details prior to acceptance of the child and arranged a last interview before the baby was received. This interview with Mr. and Mrs. Adams was a very brief one, taken up with signing a placement agreement and discussing further contacts. Again Mrs. Adams was passive, Mr. Adams very serious. He asked that the agency take their final release as soon as possible and said earnestly that this had meant a lot to him.

Mr. Adams, whether accidentally or by purposive action, has involved himself in a situation which strikes at the root of his own problem. One might believe that he actually is the father of the baby who is the object of his projection. He could never acknowledge this and I doubt that he is. I believe that he felt drawn to the mother and impelled to marry her because she was to be the mother of an unwanted child. She, self-centered and rejecting of the child, married him for the protection that he could offer her, not because she felt drawn to him, and we question whether this marriage has any base at all except Mr. Adams' need to protect the child and therefore himself. It is clear that he does not want to be the father of the child actually, that is, to fulfill the responsibilities and receive the satisfactions of parenthood. He wants to give the child up responsibly as a token gift of himself of loving, responsible parenthood. And this he does. This may well be the first responsible, fully honest action in a rather confused life for he clearly indicates his lack of integrity in relation to women, in his use of the Chaplain, in his first approach to the case worker. He might well have gotten out of this situation with the same characteristic bargaining and lack of integrity. His first approach is certainly indicative of this. When he is called on this

approach by the case worker, however, who will not be as blind as he says the Chaplain is or as easily charmed as he hopes, but who is seriously interested in helping him if he can work seriously in placing the child, he finds the new possibilities in himself, some relief from his feeling about his own motherless self, and a new core, a responsible self.

The central problem for most unmarried parents is what life to plan for the child and most parents do not decide so clearly as did Mr. Adams. There are many intermediate steps between claiming a child as one's own and building a life on that basis and separating completely from the child. But some consideration of whether a child so conceived may be claimed is inevitable in our social order. The mother may evade the issue by denying the child while not giving it up, or by prolonging her decision. But her problem about having had an illegitimate child and about herself crystallizes around this decision. Therefore the agency to which she comes with the decision is in the greatest need of understanding and skill in helping her find the solution which is best for her individually. This decision will be a compound of her basic personality organization, her practical limitations, and the attitudes of her friends and relatives, and the meaning for her of having had a child, her relation to the child herself. Out of all these conflicts she must make a decision which almost inevitably violates some part of her feeling. This is of course true of all decision making, for when we choose we must give up one desire for another. But seldom is the choice so painful and full of loss.

Alice Landis, the school teacher mentioned earlier in this paper, chose placement for her child out of her own confusion and guilt rather than because she saw any end or solution to her problem. Her own distress and disorganization was so great that it required all the child-placing agency worker's orientation to placement, all the understanding of a parent's use of placement and all the psychological understanding which she could muster to help Miss Landis use rather than get caught in this obviously temporary solution to her many difficulties.

Soon after Nancy was placed, Miss Landis made her first visit to her own home some distance away. This visit was made impulsively and was to test whether she could tell her mother about Nancy. Because the case worker also went on vacation, almost a month elapsed before the first interview following placement. Miss Landis' visits to Nancy were made on schedule and the foster parents were quite attracted to her. Miss Landis had taken a clerical job paying only \$10 a week. This salary is certainly in

keeping with the valuation she placed on herself but it is all but incredible that she could have found a job paying so little. This need for self-punishment and acute personal devaluation continued as Miss Landis' central problem. She reiterated that she was not the same person she was and did not know whether she was any person.

The worker saw Miss Landis about once a month during the first four months of placement. The interviews were usually initiated by the worker but once in the office Miss Landis made full use of the worker. Her despair was increased rather than alleviated and since the placement itself moved smoothly, the chief problem was her own inability to take hold of life and to keep related to the agency responsible for her child, which for her is the same thing in that she has invested her whole self in working out her problem here. It seemed necessary for this girl who had insisted on self-sufficiency all her life and had built it on so false a base to experience a very deep dependency. This expressed itself in the inability to earn enough to support her child, in the meager jobs she got, in her use of the case worker. At one point when she was describing how adequate she had been and the worker remarked "You have never been a child," Miss Landis replied with great feeling, "Never until now."

It is not a simple task for the case worker to meet Miss Landis' great need within the structure of the placing agency since placement calls for some responsibility on the part of the parent. But it is significant that this is the situation Miss Landis chose to work in and I believe that can be accepted as indication both of intention and wish to be held to working out her problem in this area. The worker has no choice then but to keep Miss Landis reminded that she has a child who is being temporarily cared for and to hold her to the amount of responsibility she could carry. The agency can carry financial support for a temporary time, but the mother is held committed to a relation to placement and to eventual taking over or giving up. This may seem to you hard and it is, but it is also the agency's obligation to Nancy and to Miss Landis who chooses to work out her problem in this way. The choice is, after all, not accidental but precedes from some sound core of direction in Miss Landis herself. And work it out here she did. She struggled hard to regain some belief in herself, yet because this belief was so burdensome she held for some time to her state of inadequacy and moved very little.

Six months after placement, Miss Landis was stopped. She held on to her despair with such determination that she seemed to need more help than

she had yet had in relinquishing it. She had been persuaded by the head of the girls' club in which she lived to see a psychiatrist because of her obvious depression. Miss Landis told the worker with pleasure how thoroughly she defeated his efforts to help. She also found it difficult to come to see the worker. Nancy was getting along well and Miss Landis was still visiting regularly. She seemed to enjoy the visit and the boarding family welcomed her. Finally the case worker took the one step open to her which was to discuss with Miss Landis the problem of continuing boarding care indefinitely. There was no need for termination but there needed to be a more definite commitment as to time and more real connection between the agency and Miss Landis. It was also pointed out that Miss Landis now avoided the worker so perhaps they had better see what was the reason for that. The result of discussion was a plan for Miss Landis to see the worker regularly every two weeks, on the basis that the agency had to know where she was in order to care for her child. Miss Landis welcomed this in her somewhat negative way and things really began to happen. She showed the present status of her problem clearly in her wish to put all responsibility on the worker, yet her wish to be helped to take what she could herself. At the end of the second of this series of interviews, she said she would be back in two weeks "if you want me to." When the worker smiled she added, "You see, I want you to say it, but I am really coming back."

After this interview Miss Landis went home again and returned with the announcement that her family knows all about the baby, she can't imagine how. She is relieved and quite relaxed over it. At the end of the fourth interview, Miss Landis quite boldly announced her intention to return in two weeks, then said "There, I said it all by myself that time." This new self is really established by the next time she returned for she had got a new job, a really good one. And two weeks later she had decided to marry and really went through with it, taking Nancy home within a month. What she had learned in this experience and what it seemed doubtful that she ever would, she put in a farewell sentence, "Even if Nancy and I have a miserable trip, we know it cannot last forever. It has to end." In other words, movement and change are possible because they have been experienced and life is not over for her.

What help then was given to these two unmarried parents? Both had deepseated disturbances of personality; both were seeking some way out through using a child-placing function. They are markedly different, one basically irresponsible, the other too

acutely responsible for comfortable or satisfactory living. Yet each used the agency's definition of the parental responsibility necessary in a person seeking its help, to find in himself a steadier, more possible base of operation. Mr. Adams found himself being, for one, more responsible. This was not begun by the agency, of course. He had made at least one step in claiming this child as his to plan for, ready as he was to trick someone else into the hardest part of that job and to do himself out of the benefits of his act. Miss Landis found herself able to lay down the burden of total responsibility she had always tried to carry and to pick it up piece by piece as she was able to resume it, making a new, more flexible pattern of behavior for herself. She, too, had made the first step in this reorganization, difficult as it seems, in giving way to her impulsive self, actually in becoming pregnant.

And how was the help given? In time and activity; the first case reached its significant culmination in four interviews, the second moved slowly over a long period of time. In these two cases we see the essential elements of case-work help mentioned before, operating for the client's purpose; the worker's understanding of the help her agency can offer, a knowledge of the use people may make of it, and a psychological understanding of behavior.

Conferences

The Midwest Regional Conference will be held March 27, 28 and 29, 1946, in St. Paul, Minnesota. Headquarters are at the Hotel Lowry. The Chairman is William D. Schmidt, Chief, Child Welfare Unit, Division of Social Welfare, Department of Social Security, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The New England Regional Conference will be held April 24, 25, 26, 1946, in Greenfield, Massachusetts. Headquarters are at the Hotel Weldon. The Chairman is Mr. C. Rollin Zane, Executive Secretary, Connecticut Children's Aid Society, Hartford, Connecticut.

The National Conference of Social Work will be held in Buffalo May 19 to 26, 1946. The Chairman of the Program Committee for the Child Welfare League of America is Mr. William I. Lacy, Executive Director, Children's Service, Cleveland, Ohio. The League's headquarters are at the Hotel Lafayette.

The 10th Biennial Canadian Conference on Social Work will be held in Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 25 to June 28, 1946. The general theme of the conference is "Objectives and Character of Post-War Social Work."

BULLETIN

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Henrietta L. Gordon, *Editor*

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Do We Really Want Trained Workers?

STUDY in a graduate school of social work has become the conventional prerequisite for those who would join the staff of a modern agency for the care or protection of children, or indeed any social agency offering case-work services. It is conventional also for the full-fledged professional worker to possess a master's degree from such a school.

Throughout the war, and certainly before the war, the Child Welfare League of America found many agencies paying salaries which were not consistent with professional service. Budgets of most agencies have been inconsistent with their functions and the loads for which they have accepted responsibilities, and consequently the number of workers employed has been as inadequate as the salaries paid those who have staffed our agencies. There are notable exceptions and the League is proud to have a large nucleus of its membership maintaining high standards in these respects and paying the full cost of good service. But these exceptions only help to make it clear that radical increases in many budgets are needed and that most of the structure of child welfare work in this country is shaky! In saying this it is well to observe that other areas of social work also are in this precarious condition, and for the same reasons.

There has been very little educational leave except for that provided under the terms and appropriations of the Social Security Act. If, since 1937, Child Welfare Services had not created and sustained this kind of inducement through scholarships, we would now be short hundreds of well-trained child welfare workers and the situation would appear hopeless instead of serious. Private agencies which expect to obtain trained workers from the schools of social work should choose and send workers to those schools. If this had been done during the war these professional schools would have been stimulated to extend training opportunities.

It would seem reasonable for every private and public child welfare agency to provide one scholarship for each group of ten workers on its staff. An agency with only five workers might carry its share in thus stimulating and subsidizing professional education by providing one scholarship every other year. An agency with two workers could provide a scholarship

at five-year intervals. Thus for each 1,000 workers employed there would be a nucleus or assured group of 100 constantly in training. Even at such a rate it would take some years to catch up with the present demand for graduates of accredited schools of social work.

The various arrangements under which professional education is thus encouraged include work-study plans, whereby a worker serves the agency intermittently while enrolled at a school of social work. This will be preferable for some agencies just as it will be more practical for some to provide scholarships before or after the worker has had a period of employment on the agency's staff. The distance of the agency from the school and the school's plan for study and field work will be factors favoring one plan or the other.

The agencies also need to carry their full share of field work assignments whereby schools of social work will be able to give their students the practical experience under tutelage, so essential in professional education. Schools of social work now are embarrassed by the scarcity of field work opportunities in their communities.

The use of untrained workers, an expedient which many agencies have found unavoidable, should be closely related to an agency's plan for the promotion of professional education. In employing workers who have only college graduation as an educational qualification, it is in the interests of the service to recruit young people who have some definite interest in professional training. In this connection it is important to differentiate, both in salaries paid and responsibilities assigned, between the worker professionally trained and the worker without such training.

Sabbatical years are practical, if we take seriously the development of social work as a profession. How else can we help the case worker promoted to the position of supervisor or administrator to grow in skill in proportion to her added responsibilities?

Conferences and institutes, such as the Child Welfare League is now promoting, have their places in these efforts to help our workers operate on a level consistent with the missions we have asked them to carry out. Furthermore someone in each agency should have among his duties the direction of a program of inservice training. Even a small agency can promote, through case study, the use of current literature and other measures, the professional growth of its staff. Institutes, conferences, and inservice training are necessary supplements but not substitutes for professional training. Does your agency have a reputation as a place where workers gain professional strength and prestige?

All of these things will require budgeting, both of time and money. Appropriations will be needed and the appropriating authorities need to participate in such efforts, which basically are economical. We should not be content with less than a maximum contribution from the staff of any agency. If there is reluctance let us soberly ask the question, "Do we really want professionally qualified social workers?"

—HOWARD W. HOPKIRK

Case-Work Services to Children in Need of Daytime Care*

BESSIE E. TROUT, *Consultant on Staff Development*

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ALTHOUGH the problem of providing day care for children of working mothers is an old one, during World War II communities for the first time had their eyes opened to the need for long-time planning to meet this problem.

We know that more mothers were working during World War II than in the prewar period, but the outstanding contrast with the prewar period was not so much increased employment of mothers as the increased availability and use of day-care facilities.

The extent to which children of employed mothers needed day-care services before the war is not known. Although only a handful of day-care facilities were available then, even those facilities were not always utilized by working mothers. A 1925 Pennsylvania report¹ estimates that 100,000 very young children in that State alone were receiving care by someone other than their own mothers, while their mothers worked. Only a few of these were in day-care facilities.

At the present time we do not know the number of children who need care outside their homes while their mothers are working. We do know that during the peak of employment public and private day-care facilities over the country were being used by approximately 180,000, including both young children and children of school age. This number, although a great increase over the prewar enrollment, is small when we consider the number of children who possibly need care outside their homes and whose mothers have not yet turned to the community for this care. Before World War II, a high proportion of employed mothers were forced to develop their own resources for day care of their children. This meant that mothers made their own arrangements, using families or commercial facilities they "heard about" or found advertised in papers. Some of these "independent placements" with families were undoubtedly fairly satisfactory. In a large number of instances, however, it was generally known that the care the children received was poor. In many cases large numbers of children were cared for in one home and the day-care "mother" was unable to give time to individual care. In other instances the day-care mother or "head" of

a commercial facility was incapable of giving the children understanding care particularly since they had no outside guidance. At best it was a trial and error method which frequently broke down and left the mother with no choice but to make frequent and hurried changes.

Many working mothers did not realize the bad effects of the inadequate care and frequent uprootings for the child until they had used the better facilities that were made available during the World War II period. During the war working mothers for the first time in large numbers turned to agency facilities for the care of their children.

Before the war facilities for day care consisted of day nurseries mostly in urban centers and in a few of these centers family day care. The most progressive of the day nurseries had staff trained for case work as well as staff trained in nursery education. Family day care programs almost universally included case-work services.

In order to be clear as to what we mean by day care at the present time it is necessary to review briefly what happened during the war period. Early planning included broad community programs that provided for services for all children who were in need of day care. Efforts to secure legislation to develop comprehensive programs for day care failed and Federal funds that were made available for group care did not include provisions for case-work services.

A large part of the then existing nursery schools of the Work Projects Administration were converted into a long day to meet the needs of the working mother. New centers established under the auspices of the Federal Works Agency followed this pattern. Nursery schools, and child-care centers, and the centers for school age children were sponsored and operated largely by Boards of Education.

At no time during the war were Federal funds under the Federal Works Agency available for case-work services in the day-care facilities.² This fact implied to many that case work was not an essential part of day-care service and increased the difficulty of getting acceptance and financial support from local communities for the service. During the war,

* Delivered at Regional Conference of Child Welfare League of America, Nashville, Tennessee, January 1946.

¹ Day Nurseries in Pennsylvania, A Study made for the Bureau of Children, Helen Glenn Tyson, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Welfare, Bureau 17.

² The Children's Bureau approved State plans for the use of funds under the Social Security Act for case work in the day-care services.

therefore, case-work services in day care in centers using Federal funds existed only in those communities where local funds made them available.

The nursery schools in lengthening their hours, during the war period, to meet the needs of employed mothers demonstrated further the value of nursery education as a constructive experience in the development of the child. This has emphasized the need for wide expansion of nursery schools that are part of the school system. In the period of readjustment following the war, communities now need to integrate the nursery school with the regular school program, to adjust the hours to those appropriate for the age of the child, and to make nursery schools available to all children whose parents desire such service and not just to those children whose mothers are employed or who cannot provide for their care. Undoubtedly this readjustment will meet some of the need for day care.

Full-time, or all-day care, for those children whose needs cannot be met through the shorter hours of the nursery school is and should be the responsibility of welfare agencies. These services may include day nurseries, day-care centers, and family day care. The day-care services provided by social welfare agencies, it is assumed, would also include methods of nursery education and, for older children, staff trained in methods of group work and recreation. But all-day care, unlike the nursery school which is chosen by the parent as a constructive educational experience for the child, has as its basic purpose supplementing the parent's care of the child. The individual needs of the child are given consideration, but day care is chosen by the parent primarily as part solution of a family problem. In this paper a day-care service designates a service of a social agency whose purpose is care for children whose parents cannot provide for them during the day. It is a service in which the agency recognizes and aims to reduce the problems created by separation of the child from his parent and which assumes responsibility for sharing the divided care of the child.

Do We Need Case Work in These Full-Time, Day-Care Services?

Case work as a term has suffered from unhappy associations in the minds of many people, both from its misuse by untrained personnel and in its traditional association with individual breakdown—either economic, social or personality. Many have long considered that those who seek help from social agencies are incapable of managing their own affairs. This reaction has been accentuated by the value Americans

place on independent action. Traditionally our attitude has been that if a parent is economically independent he does not need the help of a social agency. The value of independent action of the parent has been placed above the value of an enriched experience for the child.

With the war there came for the first time a wide demand for a service for the care of children which had no obvious relation to the adequacy or inadequacy of the parent and the need for case-work service was questioned.

In family day care, due in part to war pressures, lack of staff, and the traditional attitude toward case work, there has been a tendency on the part of agencies to encourage "independent placements" of children by the mothers. The name of one or more licensed homes is given to the mother from which she makes her own selection, places her child, and carries full responsibility for the child's care in the day-care home. Likewise in group day care few of the services for preschool or school age children include case-work services. This has not been due entirely to lack of funds. It grew out of an attitude that case work was something forced on parents and had no place in a service which parents chose voluntarily and in which they maintained their independence. It was the alarming rate of turnover in enrollment in day care and in industry by mothers using day-care facilities, the frequent replacements for the child, the difficulties that many children experienced in adjusting to the group and in family day care that aroused serious consideration of how case-work service could be used to make the service of greater benefit to the child.

Case work, or counseling in day-care services therefore developed out of recognition of the responsibility of the agency for the service which it made available. It was based on recognition that the best day-care service for the mother and child requires the use of a body of knowledge developed out of repeated experiences which the parent does not have. It recognized the effects on the child of separation from his mother and the need to reduce these effects for the child and the parent by carefully planned steps in the placement experience. The case worker is familiar with the conflicts a child may develop as he continues in two living situations. She also knows that the behavior of the child will be closely related to his feelings of security with his mother and that the teacher and the day-care mother can enrich the child's experience only if they in turn understand his experiences during the time he is not with them. Agencies now recognize that day care must be a shared responsibility with the mother. To care for the child part of

the 24-hour day, agencies and day-care mothers alike must know what takes place during the other part of the day.

The use that mothers have made of counseling, or case-work service at the point of intake during the war period is, I believe, unprecedented in the field of case work. Many of the counseling services for day care had had as many as 300 mothers a month coming to the agency to talk over their problems. In the District of Columbia at the present time, the family day-care service alone has a monthly average of 250 requests from mothers for interviews.

Although the mother comes to the agency with the possibility of day care in her mind, she comes primarily to think through her situation and to decide for herself whether or not going to work and using the day-care service is the best way to meet her situation. The best evidence that this is a period of "thinking through" is that only about one-third of the mothers actually decided to use day-care services—the greater number decided upon some other solution.

For some mothers merely to talk with the worker helps them to regain perspective. For others it means added self-confidence to continue a plan already under way. An even larger number get help in considering what work and use of a day-care facility will really mean to them and to their child so that they can weigh its values against other alternatives. Perhaps the best interpretation of case work was given by a mother who commented, "Isn't that why we have trained consultants on this program, to help us make up our minds what is best for ourselves, and then to stick by us if we have trouble carrying out our decisions?"

The acceptance by the agency of the mother's decision that she needs day care has been a significant development. This does not mean that the agency does not assume responsibility for deciding whether the child can benefit by day-care services. Where the child is too young for group activities or where for physical or emotional reasons it is obvious that the child will not be able to adjust to a particular form of day care the agency assumes responsibility for interpreting this to the mother. But the giving or withholding of service is not based on agency evaluation and judgment of the mother's motive.

To be sure, all public day care has, by policy, been available to all mothers who were employed, but within the field of case work there has been a growing concept that real motives cannot usually be known in the beginning and the service is not given or withheld on the basis of motive.

Helping the mother to a better understanding of

what to expect in day care and preparing for the child's entry into the service has been demonstrated as a major part of the case-work service. This has been done through a planned sequence of events including consideration of such matters as hours of care, fees, health requirements, the child's program, and the part the parent and agency would play after the child enters the service. It has included visits to the group-care center in which both the child and the mother can experience to some extent what this arrangement will mean to them. The worker helps the parent to anticipate some of the effects on the child of separation, such as possible breakdown in toilet or eating habits. She helps her as well to anticipate some of her own reactions to sharing the care of her child either with the teacher or the day-care mother so that she is better prepared to allow the child freedom to form relationships. In family day care the case worker has also helped the day-care mother in being able to receive the child into her home and to maintain the role of supplementing rather than of replacing the mother.

Experience has shown that whether or not the child is able to make use of the day-care setting depends to a great extent on the support he receives from his mother. The major purpose of continuing case work after the child is in the day-care center or day-care home is to help the mother to function in such a way that the child will be free to enter into life within the group, or into a relationship with the day-care mother.

The steps in giving continued case-work service are of interest as they indicate the way agencies have taken on responsibility for the service. As agencies began to assume responsibility for shared care of the child, it was explained to the mother that the case worker was "available" when the mother felt the need to talk over problems that arose. But the parent did not always come to the case worker, even in need, when the entire responsibility for use of the service was placed on her. She came usually in time of crisis, when the child's behavior presented serious difficulty, or perhaps when trouble arose in the day-care home. The next step, a more satisfactory method, was that of planned conferences between the case worker and the mother at regular intervals, usually monthly, for the purpose of reviewing the child's progress. This was interpreted to the mother as an essential part of the day-care service. It was in a sense a requirement.

The casual interchange of information with the mother that happens in the course of the day, important as it is, does not take the place of a scheduled conference nor do the special conferences that are

necessary at the time of crises. It is in these regular planned interviews, when the mother is free from pressures, that she is most likely to see or at least to express the relation between the child's behavior and her own strains or conflicts, and to consider with the worker what she can do about them.

One value of planned interviews is the sharing with the mother the pleasures as well as the responsibilities of the child's care. She learns from the case worker as well as from the teacher about the growth of her child. Records show the relief a mother frequently experiences on learning that most children at the age of two and a half, for example, show certain traits of behavior and that some of these will probably disappear by the time he is three. She anticipates with the worker what his next stage of growth will bring. For the first time some mothers have known a joy in caring for their child due to a new feeling of competence.

An additional value is the confidence the mother gains from approval or help from the case worker at points of discouragement but perhaps the greatest value is in the help the worker gives the mother that makes it possible for her to face and to "take hold" of problems that basically interfere with the child's use of the day-care service.

Termination of Service

Day care is by its very nature a short-time service when compared with full-time care. Mothers go to work primarily as a means of solving some family or personal problem and terminate work when it is achieved, although agencies giving family day-care service before the war report that in a few instances children have actually "grown up" in family day care.

Discontinuation of family day care for the child needs as careful consideration and planning as does entrance into the day-care service. Care may be terminated because of changes occurring as a result of the growth of the child as he moves from babyhood into childhood or as he reaches the age when he would benefit by an experience with a group. But since the mother goes to work primarily to solve some family problem, usually termination of care has no relation to the child's need. The family may move away, relatives may come into the home, or there may be illness. The child, however, has established ties with the nursery or the day-care mother and if he is older, has made friends in the neighborhood. Therefore, in leaving there is the same need for preparation for his gradual separation and for a sharing of this preparation with his own mother, the teacher, and the day-care mother.

More experimentation is needed in methods of helping children adjust to leaving one life experience and entering into the next. In some group day-care services, careful preparation is made around the child's leaving, usually by giving a party which the child's parents attend and in which both the child and the parents have participated in planning. Some day-care mothers, with older children, have had a farewell party of neighborhood friends or a festive family dinner with the mother as a guest. When the family remains in the neighborhood, the separation is not such a sharp one.

Termination of the day-care service also means new adjustments for the mother, particularly when the mother stops work and resumes full-time care of the child. The case worker and the mother discuss her new plans for herself and for the child and how the gains for the child made under the family day-care program can be made a part of the new life. Usually, too, the value of the day-care experience and the mother's relationship to the agency during that experience is reviewed and evaluated.

Integration of Services

An outstanding step in the progress in case-work services in day care during the past few years has been demonstrated by both public and private group day-care agencies of the integration of case work with the educational and health services. Experience of the agencies has shown that one of the basic essentials in an integration of these services has been first a clear concept of the function of each service and its place in the program. It is not confusing to the mother to talk with the teacher, the nurse, and the social worker so long as each is clear as to his area of service.

I shall not undertake to outline the place of each of these services and the process of integrating them in giving day-care service to children. The Child Welfare League of America has recently made an outstanding contribution* in this area by calling together representatives from the fields of social work, education, and health for conferences in which the content of the respective fields was defined as well as the way in which the three services can best operate together in a given service.

What have we gained in case work for children in day care during the wartime years that we can carry into the future?

We have carried further the prewar demonstrations

* Daytime Care: A Partnership of Three Professions, Child Welfare League of America, March 1946.

that case work is an essential part of day-care services. Through case work we have found a way of helping the mother preserve her essential independence, of helping her to make the best use of day-care facilities and, through the process of sharing, to enrich the experience of day care for the child.

Ever since the White House Conference in 1909 agencies concerned with children have been stressing the value of strengthening family life. For the most part, however, children have come to the attention of the case worker at the point of serious breakdown when it is frequently too late to be of help to the family in preserving the home. Case work in day-care

services is reaching a group of families new to agencies, where problems are discovered at an early stage. Therefore, agencies through day-care services have a unique opportunity for strengthening family life.

There is already evidence that mothers are unwilling to go back to prewar haphazard methods of care for their children, not only for better care for their children, but for the value that sharing the child's care has for them. As one mother summed it up, "In a democracy, attention should be focused on the child and we plan for day care with full knowledge that a mother cannot give security to a child unless she has it herself."

Do You Need Foster Homes? *Tell Your Community*

DURING the spring of 1945, a foster home campaign* carried out for a five-week period, under the sponsorship of the Federation of Social Agencies and financed by The Community Fund, made the citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County aware of the needs of the homeless and neglected children under the care of the six major child-placing agencies. The tangible results of the campaign were 2,283 applications received, 1,063 applicants interviewed at the headquarters, 554 allocated to the six agencies for study, of which 154 were approved, 105 were not approved and 295 were withdrawn.

The six child-placing agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County including one public and five private agencies had during the war faced together the most critical period in their history, for the loss of foster homes caused by housing shortages, women going into industry, and wartime tensions in the home threatened the very life line of their existence. In 1944 after several months of concentrated discussion it was agreed that the needs of homeless children should be made known to the community through a sympathetic presentation of the foster home program of the agencies. The committee felt that if the community realized the plight of children the people of Pittsburgh would meet the challenge—people needed only to be told of the situation. The committee therefore recommended to the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the Family and Child Welfare Division of the Federation, that a joint appeal for foster homes be made. A sub-committee representing the child-placing agencies was appointed by the Di-

vision and was given the responsibility for drawing up the plans for the joint appeal. This committee, which later became the Executive Committee for the campaign, discussed the problems involved in a joint appeal and recommended that a Foster Homes for Children Campaign be launched under the sponsorship of the Federation, and that the Board of the Federation ask The Community Fund for a special allocation to meet the cost of the campaign. It functioned as a governing body during the long months of preparation, acting with respect to policies, plans, and procedures. The committee struggled for months to find a suitable date, to secure personnel for directing the appeal, and later the almost insurmountable obstacle of securing space for the campaign headquarters. They discussed the psychological values to be found in the choice of the name and slogan to be used in the publicity appeal. They had to determine whether they wished to use a wartime approach focusing the need in relation to wartime pressures, or whether they should take a long view of the problem in relation to the year-in and year-out foster home program of the agencies. Their choice of the name, *Foster Homes for Children Campaign*, and the slogan, *Share Your Heart and Your Home with a Child*, represented the decision to use this campaign as an integral part of the agencies' long time planning for children needing placement. During the months of planning together, they came to realize that only by bringing together the best resources which the community had to offer for publicizing the need, for interesting the citizens of the community, and for interviewing the applicants who would respond to the appeal, could their goals be accomplished.

* The scrapbook of publicity and the summary and analysis of the campaign is available to member agencies.

What Were the Goals?

First, of course, was securing suitable foster homes which would enable the agencies to carry on their foster home care program, second, interpreting to the total community the true meaning of foster home care as provided through the child welfare agencies, finally, that foster parents would be given status in the community, and citizens of the community could participate with the agencies in giving recognition to the people who have had for years been a bulwark of strength to many children who were not their own.

Organization and Plan

A number of sub-committees worked closely with the Executive Committee in the execution of the plans. The personnel of these committees was carefully chosen in relation to the kind of jobs to be done. Some of them were composed entirely of lay representatives, others were entirely professional in makeup and still others were lay and professional. They included a committee on campaign office procedures, the committee on allocations and a committee on public relations, a citizens committee and an arrangements committee.

One of the thrilling experiences of the project was the exploration and use of community resources. The Federation of Social Agencies in sponsoring the project gave the necessary leadership. The Chairman of the Family and Child Welfare Division appointed the Executive Committee and the Secretary of this Division became the secretary for the committee. The Bureau of Social Research drew up the formula for allocations to the respective agencies, and assumed the responsibility for analyzing statistical material which was accumulated during the campaign. The Social Service Exchange met the emergencies of clearing the hundreds of names of applicants and of filling out the report forms sent daily to the campaign headquarters. *The Federator*, the monthly publication of The Federation of Social Agencies, interpreted foster home care and the purposes of the campaign to its constituency by devoting the entire May issue to the campaign.

The Community Fund allocated the necessary funds for financing the project, and the entire staff of the Joint Public Relations Department of the Federation and Fund was assigned to handle the publicity. Working closely with the campaign staff and with the publicity committee, the staff of the Public Relations Department publicized the campaign through posters, pamphlets, newspapers, radio and the speakers bureau. The director of the Public Relations Department was in daily consultation with

the director of the campaign to give counsel and advice on campaign procedures affecting publicity. The Social Work Consultant of the Public Relations Department staff served as a liaison between the agencies, the campaign office, and the department, helping to secure case material from the agencies for the efficient flow of timely publicity. Letters were sent out through the Council of Churches to all the ministers, asking them to announce the campaign through church bulletins and from the pulpit. The members of the Citizens Committee used their influence by participating as sponsors for the campaign and helping to interpret it to citizen groups which they represented.

Through the Schools Division of The Community Fund, a special trip was arranged for 63 high school pupils representing Pittsburgh Public Schools. The pupils visited the campaign headquarters where the Director talked with them about the purpose of the campaign and about the need for foster homes.

During the five-week period, the primary interest of the six participating agencies was this joint community effort. Staff members who had been assigned to work at the campaign headquarters reported to their own agencies only to meet emergencies in schedule. The social workers who shared the responsibility for interviewing the overwhelming number of applicants, stated at the end of the campaign that it had been a learning experience, one which had strengthened their skills as home finders.

Meeting the Public Response

The director and campaign staff discovered that it was possible for them to work together as a unit, submerging their own identities as agency representatives. The unprecedented response to the initial publicity was a demonstration of the warmth and concern which the people of the community felt for children who needed their loving care. It also proved the wisdom of the decision of the Executive Committee to interview all applicants at a central office, rather than in the agencies to whom the applicants would be assigned for study. Here in the official campaign setting, the social workers were able to be more objective and to use greater skill in interpreting the total child-placing program. Here, too, rejections of applications were made in relation to the campaign goals.

The campaign staff kept uppermost in their thinking the responsibility they had to the hundreds of people who were coming to the office, phoning for appointments or writing letters of application. Setting up the routine machinery for discussing with these applicants their potentialities as foster parents,

and for answering their applications within a short space of time was a tremendous job. It was possible, as the campaign reached its peak, to schedule and interview fifty applicants a day, for the staff developed a high degree of skill in interviewing as they talked with more applicants. At no time during the campaign did an applicant wait more than twenty minutes for an appointment, even when he walked in off the street. Every applicant was scheduled for an appointment within one week of the time when his application was received.

Because the director and the campaign staff were so well aware of the public relations aspects of this experience, they made use of every possible resource for making the applicants feel the value of their efforts, that their response was a vital part of the success of the campaign. Only the pressure of the volume of applications, and the large numbers which fell outside the geographical area which could be used by the agencies, limited the kind of response given to each application.

Interagency Relationships

Perhaps the outstanding feature of this venture was the close relationship which developed among those who worked together in the campaign. The committees, the staffs, the participating agencies, had but one purpose—to secure foster homes for children. Individual interests were merged with those of other groups and agencies, and the result was a well integrated campaign structure in which the skills of all were put to their best use in behalf of children.

In the final analysis, the Foster Homes for Children Campaign was a successful project. Viewed as an integral part of long-time planning to meet the needs of homeless and neglected children it was a significant event. The objectives which the Executive Committee set were accomplished, yet in the process certain incidents pointed up the necessity for continuous interpretation of the phase of child welfare work. The foster home program of the agencies was sympathetically presented to and understood by a vast number of citizens for the first time. Foster parenthood was given status so that foster parents felt themselves a vital part of community life. Plans for an annual special event to give recognition to this group of important citizens were agreed upon. Enough foster homes were secured to meet the urgent immediate needs of the agencies.

The objectives were accomplished because there was complete integration of publicity plans with those of the campaign from the very beginning. There was a fusion of identities of the agencies for one unified

purpose. There was a utilization of all community resources, including the necessary personnel on a loan basis by the agencies.

Recommendations for Foster Home Campaigns

FIRST: The planning group should take into account the social, economic, and welfare structure of the total community, so that from the outset the identities and loyalties which are felt for small community interests, the insecurities which are expressed among the minority groups, and the desire for recognition on the part of these agencies which will not directly benefit from the experience, would be carefully considered in the creation of a special community enterprise.

SECOND: In setting up the framework for such a joint effort it is best to prepare for maximum rather than minimum response from the public. This is true with respect to budget, supplies, space and clerical assistance, and professional staff. It is better to orient a larger group of interviewers to be used at a central interviewing office than it is to have to use those who have not been prepared in advance to carry out this particular assignment under pressure.

THIRD: It should be determined in advance what the impact of the experience will be upon the region surrounding the area of the campaign. Plans should be made in advance with the child welfare leaders in the surrounding territory for meeting the situation which may be created in the region by the publicity appeal. Part of this plan should include the definition of boundaries for the geographical area to be covered, and the inclusion of these boundaries in all the publicity.

There are, too, some general conclusions which this campaign brought into focus. There is the challenge to the agencies in the children's field to face together, not only on a local, but on a regional and national level, their mutual problems in providing adequate care and protection to the child life of this great democracy. A campaign of this kind is convincing evidence that there are enough people who care enough to give children the love and security they need to equip them for mature citizenship, and who would be willing to do so under agency supervision.

Then, too, there is the need for every agency to face with renewed vision the dynamic aspects of its foster home program with the realization that it is the constant interpretation of the program which strengthens and revitalizes the very life line of the agency's existence.

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The Toy Project

No workman is at more of a loss without his tools than a young child without proper toys or play equipment. His hunger for things to work and play with is almost as compelling as his hunger for food. Without being able to build and to dig, to climb and to swing, to lift and carry, to push and pull, to run and jump, to draw and paint, to dance and sing, children in many nurseries and kindergartens spend long hours empty-handed, empty-minded, idly learning indolence.

So the Toy Project was conceived. It was visualized as serving two human needs simultaneously. For while many groups of young children are suffering through the lack of appropriate work and play things to develop their minds and their muscles, young adolescents throughout the city are restless, ambitious and eager, but they feel useless. The Toy Project as it was conceived could meet the needs of the listless idle young child who is without playthings as well as the adolescent who craves some worthwhile and important jobs to do.

So, at the Walden School in New York City the project was first tried out, and with immediate success. Upper elementary and high school children, under the direction of their shop teacher, made toys and equipment for nursery and kindergarten children. Over 400 sturdy wooden toys were made. Boats, aeroplanes, interlocking trains, toy stoves and doll beds, irons and ironing boards, miniature tables and chairs were all so well constructed that even after a year of hard use they were still intact.

A small committee of educators was requested to criticize the finished products and make further constructive suggestions. Careful blueprints were drawn to scale with detailed instructions as to measurements and procedures. Estimated costs of materials were also stated. When the toys were completed, the school requested appraisal of their work by the Day Care Unit* and were enthusiastically approved as sturdy, colorful and appropriate. Next, the Day Care Unit was requested to suggest neighborhood schools that were most urgently in need of toys. The children who had made them then arranged with the nursery to deliver the toys at a time when the nursery children were present. They saw the eager welcome the toys received and were repaid for their arduous efforts. It was a deeply satisfying experience for everyone involved. A movie in color was taken, showing the older children making the toys. Even the

assembly line devised by the children to speed up production was shown. This movie, entitled "Let's Make Toys" proved so successful that a commercial firm bought it.

Some anxiety was expressed about any competition that such an endeavor might meet from the existing toy manufacturers and distributors. Investigation showed that toy makers were unable to fulfill their present orders. They welcomed help and stimulation in this field. Since toys are expendable, they need constant repair and replacement. An increased supply would tend to increase the demand and the entire field would thus undoubtedly expand greatly.

The Day Care Unit, realizing the possible scope of such a project on a city-wide scale, assigned one of its staff to the task of acting as equipment consultant. The response was immediate; demands and requests for toys came in from nurseries and kindergartens, while interest in making them came in from youth groups of a wide variety. Unfortunately, more time, office space and personnel were required than was available through the Day Care Unit.

Here is a project ready to be launched on a city-wide scale. Interest in the undertaking has been manifested by a wide variety of youth groups, in high schools, youth organizations, in YM and YWCA's, in Scout groups. Such work could well be undertaken by rehabilitation centers, by parent groups, by returning veterans, by reform schools, and others. Cooperation with the Day Care Unit could be established to determine which nurseries were most in need of toys.

A number of schools have undertaken their own independent projects in toy-making, invariably with success. A toy project on a city-wide basis would reap manifold benefits to every individual involved. The need still exists, the necessary organization and leadership would put much constructive energy to work and an idea would be launched.

New League Publication

DAYTIME CARE: A Partnership of Three Professions. Pamphlet. March 1946. 35 cents.

N. B. We regret the failure to have noted that the article in the February 1946 Bulletin, "Future Use of Day Care," was based on a study by Miss Marjorie Baltimore, Supervisor, The Foster Day Care and Counseling Association, Washington, D. C.

* Of the Department of Health of New York City.